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You think YOU got troubles . . .
Before you sit down, says President Rene Coty of France to President Gronchi of Italy, let me tell you about my latest Cabinet operation. Gronchi himself, with a little flour and water, has just pasted together a new temporary Italian government. For news of Coty's travails see Anne Bauer's dispatch below.

MASTER RACE GETS A LESSON

Taiwan explosion is a warning for U.S. colonialism

THE U.S. EMBASSY IN TAIPEI, TAIWAN, last week was a shell. Windows were broken, furniture wrecked, fixtures ripped out of the walls, files torn open and top-secret documents sent fluttering into the courtyard. Ambassador Karl Rankin's Cadillac was dented when his office safe landed on it, after being tossed out of a second-story window.

The Chinese handwriting on the gutted Embassy wall said: "Kick out the American devils."

American officials found it hard to understand that the U.S. flag had been torn to shreds and that wave after wave of angry men and women had destroyed everything in sight in a country regarded as the key outpost of the U.S. Western Pacific defense line. More than a billion dollars has been poured into Taiwan. The U.S. Seventh fleet shelters it. U.S. influence has been mainly responsible for maintaining the fiction that he who governs Taiwan may speak for China.

THE HISTORY IS PLAIN: N.Y. Times correspondent Robert Trumbull wrote from Taipei: "Both Chinese and American officials were groping today for some psychological explanation of the outbreak of mass hysteria." This was Trumbull's diagnosis: "A general clash of cultures with irritations intensified by claustrophobic frustration."

Taiwan's case history, however, is written more plainly than that. It begins when Chiang Kai-shek's forces took control at the war's end in accord with the Cairo Declaration that restored the island to China. For 50 years Taiwan had been occupied by the Japanese who renamed it Formosa.

Aside from the political disability of being a conquered land, Taiwan was in good shape when Chiang's old friend Gen. Chen Yi took over. It had a fine network of roads; was almost completely electrified. Its resources of power and agriculture were well developed. Eighty percent

(Continued on Page 4)

Lancaster in London Daily Express
"All right, as we're on the subject of colonialism, what happened to all those Red Indians?"

THE HIGH COST OF THE ALGERIAN MADNESS

Why the Mollet government fell

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian
PARIS

THE FALL of the Mollet government after 16 months in office—the longest tenure of any post-war French government—has aggravated a crisis in France for which no reasonable solution is being seriously considered. Five days after Mollet resigned President Coty postponed his trip to Washington, planned for this week, and plunged into the familiar game of picking a new Premier. His first tired choice, former Premier René Pleven, of one of the minor parties, seemed to be having no success in forming a coalition rule; nor was it likely that any of the other weary war horses would have any lasting success.

The die was cast when Mollet rose for his last Premier's speech in the Assembly May 21. The new French Suez offensive at the UN ("You can't overthrow the government in the midst of Security Council action!") hadn't worked in domestic politics; not any more than President Coty's scheduled U. S. visit ("You can't overthrow the government a week before an essential Presidential trip!"); nor Algeria ("Overthrowing the government will be grist for the nationalist mill!"). The government would be overthrown.

THE NEW TAX BILL: To avoid the final blow, Mollet's only resources that afternoon was to plead with the Right. CP and Progressives had definitely abandoned their attempt—vain from the start—to steer the Socialist government clear of right-wing servitude and onto a real left-wing course by supporting it in all essential votes. The rightist Moderates now held the government's fate in their hands. That had been apparent after the last confidence vote, on March 29, when only the abstention of some 100 Moderates had kept Mollet in his seat. But things had changed since.

Confronted by dangerously low Treasury and foreign exchange reserves, Finance Minister Ramadier had prepared a new tax bill. The taxes were expected to increase the ordinary citizen's burden by about 19%. But they also affected Big Business. The time had come for the Right to restate an old truth: A left-wing government practicing a right-wing policy with right-wing support is welcome to do a few unpleasant chores (Algeria, for instance) for the Right; but when that government dares interfere with capital stocks and profits, then it will no longer do. The Right might as well take over in person.

TIGHT POCKETS: The new financial measures which doomed the government were, down to the last franc, the price

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CAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES COMPEL TESTIMONY?

'Immunity' law gets 2nd test in Appeals Court

By Lawrence Emery

ALTHOUGH ONE SECTION of the Immunity Act of 1954, which seeks to compel testimony in "internal security" cases by nullifying the Fifth Amendment, has been upheld by the Supreme Court, a second section was under review last week by the U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington.

The current case involves four persons who invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee headed by Sen James O. Eastland. They are Harold Glasser, former government employe and one of some 80 persons named by Elizabeth Bentley as members of a "spy ring," and three residents of Honolulu who balked at the subcommittee's probe last year of The Int'l. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in the Islands: Wilfred Oka, columnist for a progressive Island weekly, Robert McElrath, a union employe, and Myer C. Symonds, union attorney.

COMMITTEE'S RIGHTS: The section of the law validated by the Supreme Court authorizes the Attorney General to compel testimony in grand jury or Federal court proceedings in return for a grant of immunity from prosecution for any wrongdoing confessed. The section now under challenge permits a Congressional committee to apply to a Federal judge for an order to compel testimony.

In the present case, District Court Judge David A. Pine granted the immunity order requested by the subcommittee and refused to permit the four to appear in court in opposition. On April 26 the Court of Appeals agreed to hear the appeal, and the full nine-man bench heard arguments on May 20. Defense attorneys Joseph Forer and David Rein challenged both procedural and constitutional aspects of the law, arguing that it confers a non-judicial policy-making function upon judges that rightly be-

(Continued on Page 9)

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THE MAIL BAG

Is that reason?

BRIXHAM, ENG.

Because we, in allegedly civilized countries, take a dim view of the Soviet government's methods, is that any reason why we should want to drop H-bombs on the Russian people who already have enough to put up with? **Rhoda Clarke**

Overcome

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We're two teenagers who in the past week have become the proud possessors of "The Weavers at Carnegie Hall." We love it!

The singing is marvelous (as usual) and the songs are the ones we really want to hear.

To anyone reading this now, this is all we can say. We're too overcome with emotion to go on. In finishing, we want to say if you haven't heard it, you don't know what you're missing.

Carol Kramer
Winnie Bendiner.

Music lovers see p. 12—Ed.

U.S.A.

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

I am writing to urge that other readers inquire into the possibilities of the United Socialist Alliance.

Of great interest to me is the fact that a minister is aiding this project, and I find it intriguing to imagine what would happen with such a gentle soul caught between two opposing points of view! I'm referring to Rev. Hugh Weston of 31 Main St., Saugus, Mass., the organizing secretary, to whom inquiries should be directed; and I hope everybody with a minute to write a letter will inquire.

Al Amery

The Sobell decision

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Circuit Court Judge Medina's decision denying Sobell's appeal for a hearing is both immoral and illegal. It strikes with equal force against Sobell, his family and friends, and at the constitutional safeguards of all Americans.

The decision seems predicated upon contempt for the people, apparently based upon the conviction that Americans can't or don't read English. Else, why the distortions which any simple reading of the trial transcript would readily disclose? At any rate, leading Frenchmen and Britons and Israelis and Italians do read English, and this decision cannot help but degrade us in the eyes of the world.

Judge Medina relies heavily on Judge Kaufman's denial. However, he carefully avoids the contradictions between Kaufman's decision in June, 1956, and the Circuit Court's present one. In his denial, Judge Kaufman stated: "The Government has never contended that Sobell was legally deported."

But the Circuit Court found otherwise, and U. S. Attorney Paul Williams, replying to Judge Medina's own query, at the hearing March 5, 1957, stated: "The Government now maintains, and has always maintained, that Sobell was legally deported."

If the Government's double-talk about deportation could be misunderstood by presiding Judge Kaufman himself, and if it confounded three distinguished Circuit Court judges, isn't it possible that one lone juror might also have misunderstood? Doesn't this necessitate a hearing, in accordance with Sobell's motion?

Judge Medina's decision states that many witnesses testified at the trial that when Sobell left the U.S. for Mexico, it was flight with the intention of not returning. This is completely false. Not one witness said anything of the sort. Let Medina search the trial record from beginning to end. Then, let him produce such testimony, or let him apologize to Sobell and to the public and take such steps as are required to give Sobell his day in court.

The Supreme Court will undoubtedly reverse this shameful decision, but this means more months of misery, more terror, more heartache. Also, it will require more effort and support (financial and otherwise) from the public, to bring the case before the Supreme Court and to guarantee that justice is done.

Aaron Katz

The Powell Case

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

One year has passed since the indictment of John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman on charges of "sedition."

In a case that makes legal history, in which the rights of American citizens to criticize their government's foreign policy is at stake, the defendants find themselves in the impossible position of having to gather material and testimony from witnesses in China and North Korea—two countries which the State Department has declared out-of-bounds to American citizens.

For the past six months legal arguments and motions have centered mainly on the question of whether or not the defendants have the right to secure evidence from China and Korea. At the last hearing Judge Louis Goodman gave the defendants 90 days (until the middle of June) to provide proof that they really need this evidence.

In the past year of legal hearings, pre-trial motions and preparations for the trial, the Defense Fund has spent more than $20,000. The case has already aroused considerable international interest, and, in addition to contributions from the United States, friends in many countries, including Canada, China, England and Australia, have sent in donations. However, the Defense Fund is now in debt almost $6,000 for legal fees and costs and other expenses. Additional sums are urgently needed to continue this struggle to preserve our historic concept of Freedom of Speech and the Press. Friends of John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman again solicit your help.

Charles Mattox, treasurer
Powell-Schuman Defense Fund P. O. Box 1808.
San Francisco 1, Calif.

In China the noted New Zealand-born author and friend of New China, Rewi Alley, is chairman of a Committee of Friends of the China Monthly Review for the Defense of its Editors.—Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

DEMOCRACY, a game for children 6-12, teaches fundamentals of democracy and American way of life. Game played by tossing dice.

Toy and Novelties, May, 1957

One yeaer free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous.

Flowers for Liberty

NEW YORK, N. Y.

May I here toss in a personal bouquet to express my appreciation to Liberty Book Club? Thanks to their members' generous support of the hard-backed edition of "Montgomery, Alabama; Money, Mississippi and Other Places," it became possible for the publishers—Cameron Associates—to issue a 25-cent paper edition that is breaking all records for poetry in our time (over 22,000 to date).

This is, of course, only one brief example of what Liberty has accomplished. Granted sufficient new members to keep healthy and full of vitamins, its potential is one of unparalleled stimulus for the entire liberal movement in this country.

Eve Merriam

Lancaster in London Daily Express

"Is that the one they've been trying out on the Arabs?"

W. E. B. Du Bois

UPLAND, CALIF.

Our W.E.B. Du Bois is an excellent writer, well informed, but above all, factual and honest and therefore the kind of a leader we need in this most important time in history when either we apply intelligence and truth, or annihilation manifestly is ours. I am not too worried about annihilation, since the peoples of the world at last after at least 6,000 years are awake and awakening!

Franklin Baxter

Utter, complete mess

NEW YORK, N. Y.

No one can tell where we shall all land if this aggressive expansion of American economic and military power continues; how deep bitterness may go, how lasting and harmful the animosities engendered. It is at present a mess, utter and complete, keeping the world divided into two hostile armed camps.

Well-intentioned, far-sighted Americans who want to safeguard what remains of good-will toward us in the world must stir themselves into action, calling for an entirely new foreign policy designed to achieve the freest commerce with all nations and unrestricted travel; disarmament, liquidation of military pacts and bases; abolition of nuclear weapons.

A. Garcia Diaz

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REPORT TO READERS

The new Abolitionists

DID YOU KNOW that Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, at least once in the dim and distant past voted against continuing the Committee in existence? So did Rep. Clyde Doyle, (D-Calif.), now one of the Committee's foremost inquisitioners.

And did you know that a total of 60 present members of Congress have voted against the Committee or its appropriations or its contempt citations in the past?

For these statistics—and more which we intend to draw on—we are indebted to Russ Nixon, able Washington legislative representative of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union. The reason for discussing the matter now is that there is an abolition campaign in the wind to put the Un-American Committee out of business, and if this is to be done, it will have to be done by the House of Representatives under mighty strong pressure from voters everywhere.

ABOLITION is no cinch. The Committee appropriation this year was passed by a voice vote, with no recorded opposition. Last year there was only one vote against it; none in 1955; and one "no" with three recorded abstentions ("present" votes) in 1954.

Surveying this situation, author Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, who is urging the abolition campaign, hopefully points out that since it is now at rock bottom, opposition to the Committee has nowhere to go but up.

A member of the present Congress told UE's Nixon that he estimated 100 members of Congress are actually opposed to the Committee but are afraid to vote their actual views for fear of political consequences.

So an abolition campaign would have to (1) stiffen the backbones of at least these 100 Congressmen; and (2) go to work on the political climate so that an honest Congressman can feel that he is voting with his constituents behind him.

THE PRESENT COMMITTEE is perhaps the biggest reason for optimism in an Abolition campaign. It has rampaged back and forth across the country the past year trampling on due process, spewing insupportable accusations as bloody as murder against upright citizens, making enemies in the press, among liberals, foreign-born, in the legal profession, the church, school systems and practically every effective level of the organizational life of the country.

The time should be ripe to collect these sentiments into an effective instrument to erase this Committee and its parallels from American life. There are several ways to start now on the dismantling process. A climax for the Eighty-fifth Congress might be planned for early next year, when the Committee comes before Congress for a new appropriation.

FOR THE PRESENT the ECLC urges two actions:

- Communications to Congressmen and Senators urging support of petitions presented to Congress by the ECLC, the Methodist Federation for Social Action and the Religious Freedom Committee asking establishment of special committees in both houses to investigate the investigators. What prompted the petitions was the publication by both House and Senate of "blacklists", the House Committee's this year proscribing 733 organizations including a smaller list compiled by the Eastland Committee last year.
- Pressure on members of the House to join with Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) in a resolution to transfer the functions of the House Un-American Committee to the Judiciary Committee. The California Democratic Council is backing this move, which would not abolish the Committee but hopefully might render it a neglected step-child of the Judiciary.

NOBODY BELIEVES an abolition campaign could knock out the Un-American Committee in the first round. The most votes ever registered against it since its formation in 1938 were the 186 cast against Rep. John Rankin's maneuver in 1945 changing it from a special to a permanent House committee. In 1943, after FDR spoke out against the Committee headed by Martin Dies, there were 94 votes against it. The last sizable vote against its appropriation was 81 in 1946. Last year nine members voted against citing Arthur Miller for contempt.

With a good campaign beginning now, next year's appropriation should be hard to get indeed; and a starvation diet is as effective a form of abolition as any. **—THE GUARDIAN**

ANEURIN BEVAN TELLS AN AROUSED BRITAIN:

'Destroy the Bomb before it destroys us'

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN BRITAIN, as the second Christmas Island explosion and the start of the American "series" were awaited, protests against H-bomb tests mounted in the form of church sermons, public demonstrations, columns of letters to the press, and a continuing offensive by scientists and opposition MPs.

While Archbishop Ramsey of York supported H-bombs as a "lesser evil" for Christians, Canon L. John Collins preaching in St. Paul's called them "clearly a departure from Christian principles"; Manchester's Bishop Greer wanted Britain to renounce them "once and for all." The press published the Pope's reply to Lord Cherwell's attack on him for intervening in "a scientific question." He said in **Osservatore Romano** that it was his "indubitable right and duty" to press for the stopping of tests, and that he spoke from "evidence of those who have suffered atrociously" from test effects.

AN ACT OF FAITH: Foreign Secy. Lloyd had set the British government line that the Pope and Dr. Albert Schweitzer were "red propaganda dupes", and Cherwell had pooh-poohed scientists' warnings that the tests were dangerous to the health of humanity. Among much London **Times** correspondence was the demand by Father Huddleston of South Africa fame that, rather than "bigger and better H-bombs," a Christian country should proclaim in a simple "act of faith (that it) must rely upon different weapons altogether." Alexander Haddow, research director at the Royal Cancer Hospital, refuted Cherwell's assertion that the Medical Research Council had denied the tests were dangerous.

The Atomic Scientists Assn., referring to its recent statement that each megaton of fission explosion would cause 1,000 bone cancer deaths from fall-out, replied to Cherwell in the weekly **New Scientist**: "Public anxiety will not be relieved by steamroller tactics, and is there not a hint that Lord Cherwell would prefer censorship to freedom of speech when he thinks it 'monstrous' that publication of such statements should be allowed?" The Association said that, contrary to Cherwell's statement, its arguments did not conflict with the Medical Research Council's, and any government proceeding with tests "must recognize a serious risk is being run."

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

"I said—it's nonsense. We can't afford it."

UNPRICKED CONSCIENCES: The "red propaganda dupe" line got a blast from a delegate to the Institution of Professional Civil Servants conference, who called it "utterly irresponsible and wholly contemptible." In a page-one broadside in the weekly **Tribune**, the Labour Party's foreign affairs spokesman Aneurin Bevan asked Cherwell "and his accomlices . . . what the roll of murder must be before their consciences are pricked into action?"

Even if it were true that increased radioactivity from Britain's tests would be "innocuous," Bevan reminded Britons that "other nations will almost certainly wish to qualify for membership of the H-Bomb Club. The argument that Britain applies to herself is one of universal application." Bevan insisted that the existence of H-bombs could "no longer be regarded as a deterrent to war but as making war a certainty"; they must be "destroyed before they destroy us."

50,000 LETTERS: Attesting the effectiveness of the continued demonstrations and lobbying, the **Daily Express** reported that the Christmas Island tests had been rushed because, the Foreign Office had warned defense chiefs, "it might soon be impossible to stave off the growing demand for banning H-bomb explosions." With almost daily demonstrations in different communities, a group urging letters to MPs said that some 50,000 of them had been received at Westminster. A mass lobbying at the House of Commons was set for June 5, and another protest march—by men as well as women this time—to 10 Downing Street for the Sunday following the next British test.

Liberation, Paris

"Of course, the press will criticize us as usual."

At Cambridge University, a Union Club debate on tests was called off for lack of pro-test speakers. On the British Broadcasting Corp. "Any Questions" program May 17, noted physicist J. Bronowski recalled the horrors he had seen in Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the A-bomb raids in 1945. He had then compared the effect of one A-bomb on London with that of a World War II blockbuster on Gulliver's Lilliput. Now he compared an H-bomb on London with an A-bomb on Lilliput. Tests, he said, were "inhuman in the absolute sense" and "not worthy of any human society whatever."

SENATE MAY NOT EVEN VOTE

'Friends' of civil rights silent as bill is choked

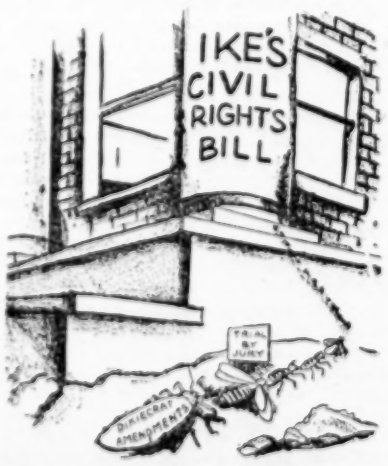
AFTER nearly five months of delay, the Administration's mild four-point civil rights program was cleared on May 21 by the House Rules Committee, 8 to 4, for floor action. But the same bill remained trapped in the Senate Judiciary Committee, presided over by Mississippi's James Eastland, with prospects growing that it might not be reported out at all in this session of Congress.

With time running out for effective action, the House leadership showed no inclination to speed things up. Although House debate could begin any time after May 22, House Majority Leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) predicted that it won't get started until the week of June 3.

The bill then will be subject to four days of general debate, after which it will be read section by section for amendments. The Rules Committee recommended no limitation on amendments and it is expected that Southerners will offer scores of them. When a final vote comes, some time in mid-June, it is predicted that the bill will pass overwhelmingly. But the House has passed such bills before; it is the Senate that is the graveyard for such legislation.

THE STRANGLERS: Although Dixiecrats are out-numbered 11 to 4 in the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Southerners were still in control chiefly through inaction by other members of the committee. The Baltimore **Afro-American** on May 11 commented: "Where are Butler of Maryland, Jenner of Indiana, Wiley of Wisconsin, Dirksen of Illinois, Watkins of Utah, Hruska of Nebraska, Neeley of West Virginia, Langer of North Dakota? Only their timidity or detachment or both allows the wild men from the corn pone states to run unchecked and unchallenged. The civil rights bill is being strangled, not by the machinations of its enemies, but by the studied indifference of its 'friends'."

The bill has been before the committee since March 19. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), who has fought for action on the measure, was defeated on May 13 in an effort to get a decisive vote during the week. Another move by Hennings to force daily and evening meetings of the committee (it meets now only on Monday mornings) was blocked when Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) held the floor for an hour and 40 minutes till the committee adjourned. Ervin called the measure "the most damnable, most indefensible bill ever laid before the Congress." After the meeting Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) remarked that "we had a splendid exposition of some of the evils of the bill by Sen. Ervin."



Baltimore Afro-American

The termites are gnawing

The people's Mickey

BUSINESS, they suggest, is a lot better than much "analysis" would indicate. "I'm glad to see the baseball season start," said one Administration economist. "Maybe Mickey Mantle will take people's minds off economics."

—Newsweek, 4/22

Commodore in Chicao Defender

Sees, hears an' says nothing

"RIGHT TO WORK": First voting test in the committee came on May 20 when a Dixiecrat amendment which would have killed three of the bill's four provisions was defeated, 6 to 4. Still pending are an amendment by Sen. McClellan to elevate the so-called "right to work" to a civil right and thereby outlaw the union shop, and one by Sen. Ervin to make jury trials mandatory in civil rights contempt-of-court cases. The Ervin amendment would nullify the entire measure.

While amendments are pending, no action can be taken in the committee to force the bill to the Senate floor. There are two other methods to get floor action but neither is likely to be resorted to. One is to wait for the House to approve the bill and then move for immediate Senate consideration, by-passing the Eastland committee, but this action would require a two-thirds vote. The other would be to discharge the Eastland committee from further consideration of the measure, but this would violate Senate "tradition," something few members of the club are disposed to do.

"WELL, OF COURSE": President Eisenhower was finally smoked out on the civil rights measure at his press conference on May 15 but what he had to say was far from a battle-cry for freedom. Asked if his "advocacy of the civil rights bill would hurt the Republican chances of winning more seats in the South," the President replied:

"Well, of course, I don't believe, in the long run, in its study that it will, because the civil rights bill is a very moderate thing, done in all decency and in a simple attempt to study that matter, see where the Federal responsibilities lie, and to move in strict accordance with the Supreme Court's decision, and no faster and no further."

Reminded of the Southerners' jury-trial arguments, the President said:

"Well, I know that, but, as a matter of fact, I am not enough of a lawyer to discuss that thing one way or the other. I do know that the Federal courts must not—I mean, their dignity and their position and prestige must be upheld. But I am not going to talk about that matter. You will have to go to the Attorney General. He knows more about it than I do."

As has happened since 1875, civil rights were being lost again in Congress by default.

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Taiwan explosion

(Continued from Page 1)

of the islanders were literate. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, while on his mission to China, reported to Secy. of State Dean Acheson on Aug. 17, 1947:

"The people anticipated sincerely and enthusiastically deliverance from the Japanese yoke. However, Chen Yi and his henchmen ruthlessly, corruptly and avariciously imposed their regime upon a happy and amenable population. The Army conducted themselves as conquerors. Secret police operated freely to intimidate and to facilitate exploitation by Central Government officials . . . They [the Taiwanese] fear that the Central Government contemplates bleeding their island to support the tottering and corrupt Nanking machine [Chiang's] and I think their fears well founded."

THE MASSACRE OF 1947: In 1947 Gov. Chen Yi invited 300 leading Taiwanese to state their grievances, then had them slaughtered. In the spring of that year Chiang's forces beat down Taiwan resistance, massacring between 5,000 and 20,000 in a month's time.

In 1949 Taiwan saw how Chiang took care of his troops. The shattered remnants of his forces driven from the mainland came to the island in vessels so loaded that the dead could not fall to the deck but were supported by those still alive. Correspondent William Worthy, writing in the York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily** in the fall of 1955, noted that many on Taiwan "object to being conscripted into Chiang Kai-shek's army."

The Taiwanese since "liberation" have seen their island population of 8,500,000 swell to over 10,000,000 as the capital of Chiang's empire. Chiang's soldiers, in their twenties when they left the Continent, are now approaching middle age, and the Taiwanese feel themselves marked as replacements. Most U.S. dollars go for military installations and Chiang's retinue, while thousands of Taiwanese are crowded into slums. Tuberculosis, gastric diseases and infant mortality rates are all up.

YANKEES, TAKE OFF

U.S. fliers used to see Taiwan farmers bending low. Last week they stood up.

THE DEEP FREEZE SET: Freedom in this outpost of the "free world" seems so rare that the most surprising thing about last week's outbreak seemed to be that it occurred in what Walter Briggs of the **N.Y. Herald Tribune** called the "police-state rigidity" of control exercised by Chiang Kai-shek and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo.

"Liberation" to the Taiwanese has also meant the settlement of some 7,000 U.S. men, women and children. These include 1,887 officers and enlisted men and their families. Briggs noted: "The American service man's big automobile and the refrigerator in his comfortable family quarters are enviously compared with the austerity of life for most Chinese."

That austerity was demonstrated by the Taiwan farmers who risk their lives gathering undetonated mortar shells from U.S. artillery ranges to sell for scrap. (A 30-pound shell fetches more than a farmer might earn in two months.) Last January GI's tried to prevent one farmer from taking a shell off the field. Angrily he threw it down: 42 persons were killed, 32 wounded.

There was also the plague of jimcrow carried to the island by the U.S. troops. These provoked what correspondent Briggs called "complex emotional responses." They boiled to the surface after March 20.

THE SOLDIER'S STORY: Just before midnight of that date Mrs. Robert Reynolds was taking a shower in her home eight miles outside of Taipei. She said she saw a Chinese looking through the window and called her husband. M/Sgt. Reynolds loaded a .22 caliber pistol, went out, found and killed Liu Tze-jen who, he said, was coming at him with a stick. They were the only living witnesses.

The U.S. has almost complete extra-territorial rights in Taiwan, in effect claiming diplomatic immunity for every American there. On May 20 five colonels and three master sergeants held a court martial. The U.S. concession to mounting Taiwan emotions was to make the trial public. Sgt. Reynolds was charged with "voluntary manslaughter." He pleaded innocent, insisting that he shot in self defense. On Thursday, May 23, the court acquitted him. On Friday, May 24, while the Reynolds family (they have a seven-year-old daughter) were being rushed by plane to Manila, the widow of Liu Tze-jen picketed the U.S. Embassy.

"I NEVER THOUGHT . . .": Mme. Liu, an attractive woman, a graduate of an arts college in Hangchow, stood at the gate with her 19-month old daughter demanding to know how the man who shot her husband could be acquitted. At noon the crowds grew. A radio reporter interviewed her and played back her words over a loudspeaker: "I am here today not only to protest for my husband but also for all Chinese. I always thought that America was a free and democratic country. But I never thought . . ."

Her voice broke. The growd grew indignant. At 2 p.m. they swept through the Embassy gates, tore down the U.S. flag. While the Embassy staff huddled in an air raid shelter and telephoned for troops, students who led the assault shouted: "Destroy but don't steal."

They wrecked 14 cars and a truck, turned the place into a shambles. Another contingent of the crowd left to attack the U.S. Information Service office and succeeded in partially destroying it. Casualties were comparatively slight; one Chinese civilian killed, 13 injured; 24 police and nine Americans injured.

REELING IN THE LOBBY: The shock was felt far beyond the site of the explosion, however. Even the China Lobby in Washington reeled. Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.), who has been called the "Senator from Formosa," said the affair was "shocking to me and to friends of Free China." Another China Lobby stalwart, Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), said: "It is particularly disturbing that this reckless conduct should be permitted in a country to which we have given so freely of our friendship, our strength and our material resources." He wanted it made clear that any further violence to the "sovereignty of the United States absolutely will not be tolerated." He wanted action against those responsible no matter "how high a position any one of them may occupy."

TALKS WITH PEKING? The suspicion was voiced in several places that the affair was more than an explosion of a people against an occupying force or resentment against extra-territorial rights such as is now manifesting itself in Japan, the Philippines and wherever U.S. troops are stationed. The most worrisome aspect to some U.S. statesmen was the suspicion of complicity on the part of at least some in Chiang's administration. They linked Chiang's failure to quell the crowds to stories of behind-the-scenes talks between Chinese Communist leaders and Chiang's representatives.

Last February the **Times'** authoritative commentator James Reston cited a "dramatic but unauthenticated report" that Premier Chou En-lai had written a letter to the Generalissimo's Son, Chiang Ching-kuo, proposing that Taiwan rejoin China as an autonomous region with Chiang remaining as governor and accepting a Vice-Premier's post in China. It would, of course, end the "two-Chinas" stalemate in the UN.

DENIAL BY CHIANG: Similar proposals have been reportedly made in short-wave broadcasts from Peking to Taipei. At a reception for Soviet Chief of State Voroshilov last April, Mao Tse-tung said that the Chinese Communists were "ready to cooperate again for the third time" with Chiang. (The two earlier eras of cooperation were 1924-1927 and 1936-1945.)

Chiang has consistently denied that any such cooperation is being considered at his end. He profusely apologized for the riots and offered to pay damages (the money would have to come out of U.S. funds). He has rounded up about 200 people, allegedly responsible for the demonstrations, and fired three high officials, and his troops patrol Taipei's streets.

But the China Lobby's suspicions would have been better allayed if he had fought the rebellious Taiwanese as he did 10 years ago when thousands died for less.

SUKARNO LOOKS TO SOCIALISM FOR A MODEL

Indonesia: They don't love us there either

By Goei Hok Gie
Special to the Guardian

DJAKARTA, INDONESIA

IT IS NO SECRET that the popularity of the United States in Asian countries has been constantly dwindling in the last few years. Indonesia is no exception. In a recent issue of **Fortune** an article discussed American diplomacy in Indonesia. It said that since Ambassador Merle Cochran, later followed by Hugh C. Cummings, there has been no real progress in winning the Indonesian people to sympathy for U.S. policies. The conclusion was that both envoys at best intensified "personal contacts" with certain leaders but that even these practices were self-defeating.

In 1951 Cochran succeeded in persuading Foreign Minister Subardjo to sign a Mutual Security Agency agreement, but this caused such consternation in both parliamentary and political circles that Subardjo was forced to resign.

THEY LOOK EAST: Cummings was elated that he had been able to arrange President Sukarno's first visit to the U.S., and he thought Sukarno really had got a favorable impression of American democracy during his month's stay. But, after touring China and the U.S.S.R., Sukarno said he felt Western democracy was not suitable for Indonesia if it was to achieve, within a short period, the progress he had seen in Russia and China.

Soon afterward Sukarno proposed that there be less stress on political parties in order to effectuate a "guided democracy" with many similarities to the socialist countries. The present Djuanda Cabinet, operating under a state of siege and war, is an embodiment of the so-called "Sukarno conception" of seeking a way out of present difficulties. Sukarno insisted on the formation of a "National Council," including representatives of all political tendencies: nationalists, Marxists and religious groups (GUARDIAN, 3/25).

On May 6 an emergency act was issued to supervise the setting up of this National Council, and it is expected that the Council will shortly be installed. Among the present Djuanda Cabinet members are at least three so-called "fellow-travelers" (in the eyes of right-wingers and religious exponents). One, Dr. Prijono, Minister of Education, received a Stalin Prize.

A FLAG IS TORN: On May 6, President Voroshilov of the U.S.S.R. arrived at Djakarta for a two-week state visit. He was enthusiastically welcomed by hundreds of thousands of people, who lined the roads waving Indonesian and Russian banners. A member of the military attache's staff of the U.S. Embassy, a certain Mr. Whise, presumably could not control his anger or his liquor. He tore a Soviet flag to pieces. This action brought about a spontaneous reaction among bystanders, who delivered him to the police. The offender, it was announced, would be sent home and the American Embassy formally apologized to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A second incident occurred during a gala evening performance in honor of Voroshilov on May 7. Before the performance there was a state banquet attended by many members of the diplomatic corps, but not by John M. Allison, new U.S. ambassador. The ambassador arrived with Mrs. Allison a half hour after the ceremony had begun. The places reserved for VIPs had by then been taken by other people, and there was no place up front for the Allisons. They left immediately. [An Indonesian official said there had been "an unfortunate sudden change" in the time schedule and that the incident was "regretted."]

NO SOUTH KOREA: The resentment against U.S. influence in Indonesia almost surely will be strengthened; the majority of the people have always been suspicious of moves from Washington. Indonesia, they say, must not be put in the same category as Thailand, South Korea or the Philippines, where American popularity has a dollar sign attached.

Just before Voroshilov left on May 19 for a visit to North Viet Nam, an official Indonesian communique announced that Indonesia and the Soviet Union would continue to improve trade relations and cooperation in economic and technical fields. It was agreed also that the two nations would exchange visits by delegations of experts.

(Goei Hok Gie is associate editor of "Trompet Masjarakat," a liberal newspaper published in Sourabaya, E. Java.)

Eisenhower says 'No'

ON MAY 20 U.S. Ambassador Allison delivered to President Sukarno a letter from President Eisenhower saying that the President's responsibilities of office would prevent him from accepting an oft-repeated invitation to visit Indonesia. The N.Y. **Times** reported deep official "disappointment and some puzzlement." The letter was delivered the day after Soviet President Voroshilov had ended his two-week visit. China's Mao Tse-tung has accepted an invitation to Indonesia.

Give This Paper To A Friend

THEIR PATIENCE IS 'REACHING ITS END'

The people want elections in Colombia and Venezuela

By Elmer Bendiner

IN BOGOTA CAFES last week military cadets used their dress-parade sabers to harry bands of students who had been active in deposing former dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. Roving strong-arm squads had killed some and injured scores who refused to join in the "Viva" for Rojas. Police reportedly stood by as if neutral in the street riots.

The Junta that took power on May 10 had let Rojas off gently. They allowed him to save face with a proclamation describing himself in grandiloquent patriotic terms. Then they paid his fare to Franco Spain and announced that it was an advance on the customary lifetime pension Colombia pays its ex-Presidents. All of the five-man military team are Rojas aides.

SHADOW CABINET: Some civilians, like Liberal Party leader Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, took the Junta's promises at face value. Dr. Lleras discounted reports

CHILE'S CARLOS IBANEZ
His people are starved by inflation

that the Junta itself had inspired the continuing street violence to indicate the necessity of military rule.

Calling the Junta a "provisional revolutionary government," Dr. Lleras said he had faith in it "because the five high military officers composing it are truly representative agents of the armed forces." It was the Army in 1953 that replaced dictator Dr. Laureano Gomez with dictator Rojas. Then, too, the Liberals had cheered the change and believed the promises.

To bolster Dr. Lleras' hopes there was a shadow cabinet of 10 civilians, appointed by the Junta, and the solemn promise that at 3 p.m. Aug. 7, 1958, the Junta would turn power over to an elected president. Brig. Gen. Luis E. Ordonez of the Junta said elections could be held in May or June of next year.

SOME CONCESSIONS: To some it seemed Dr. Lleras was willing to lend his prestige to take the heat off the Junta in exchange for the promise of a return to constitutional government. The alternative, however, could be a renewal of the bloodletting which had taken 150,000 Colombian lives in a decade.

The Junta had made some concessions: it abolished Rojas' title of "Supreme Chief" and announced that the ex-dictator had been formally cashiered from the Army. It ordered an inquiry into a $14,000,000 coffee black-market, said to have been organized by the Rojas administration, and into charges of bestial cruelty against prisoners. But it was hard for the average Colombian to believe that any inquiry would dig deep since, in effect, the Rojas officialdom was investigating itself.

From the countryside, where Rojas' land-grabbers had driven farmers off their farms and made them into guerrillas, there was as yet no echo of Dr. Lleras' confidence.

Venezuela: New explosion?

DR. LLERAS has a Venezuelan counterpart in Dr. Jovito Villalba, now an exile. In similar interviews which appeared in Mexico City's **Excelsior** and the **Christian Science Monitor**, Dr. Villalba said at the height of the Rojas crisis: "It is anomalous that Bogota, such a modern metropolis of northern South America, is occupied by tanks and thousands of soldiers. While they are not Soviet, the tanks are U.S.-made and the troops are directed by a government which, together with the United States, Cuba and Venezuelan governments, took the lead in protesting against the action of Soviet forces in suppressing freedom in Hungary."

Dr. Villalba heads the Union Republicana Democrata (URD) which swept the elections in 1952, with five times the number of votes polled by the ruling Junta, headed by Gen. Perez Jimenez. It was, nevertheless, prevented from taking office. As in the case of Rojas in Colombia, the Venezuelan Junta has a 1958 deadline for new elections. As there was in Colombia there is now a move in Venezuela to jam through a hand-picked legislature a bill continuing the Junta for another term.

A NEW UNITY: Against that plan there is a new unity of the URD, the right-of-center and much smaller Copei party and the left-of-center illegalized Accion Democratica. The Communist Party, also illegal, has already issued a manifesto supporting such a united demand for a return to Constitutional government. The opposition is appealing to the Army rank-and-file and junior officer corps to join them. It promises no retaliation against the military and Dr. Villalba has given assurances that the oil interests would not be disturbed.

The opposition demands only free elections, but if these are frustrated by any "subterfuge" of the Jimenez regime, Dr. Villalba warned, it might be the spark to set off a popular explosion no liberal could control. To the **Christian Science Monitor** he said: "The patience of the Latin-American people is reaching its end."

Chile: Nation in turmoil

DICTATORSHIP was still entrenched but uneasy in Chile. The explosion was triggered by the threat of a 50% rise in bus fares. It was the last straw for a people starved by inflation. (The cost of living rose 86% in 1955 and another 32% in 1956.) At the end of March students in Santiago and Valparaiso demonstrated. Gunfire from Valparaiso police killed three of them.

EVERY CORNER A CLASSROOM
Bogota's students learn freedom from a text of rifle-butts. This was how they were met when they celebrated the ouster of dictator Rojas Pinilla.

Students met and voted for a 24-hour school strike. A group of 25 returning home from a Santiago rally were met by police armed with machine-guns. Alicia Ramirez Patino, 23, a social science student, was killed, three others injured. Police used their sabers to slice off the ears of another student.

While civil war seemed imminent, Socialist Senator Dr. Salvador Allende, speaking for all parties on the Left, sought to negotiate with the government of President Carlos Ibanez del Campo. Negotiations collapsed. Troops and police withdrew, but gangs suddenly appeared in the city looting and rioting. No students were involved. Some reports said 40 convicts had been released from prison to do the job under the leadership of police plainclothesmen. On April 2 the government used the riots as a pretext for military rule. Opposition leaders were rounded up, jailed or sent into remote parts of Chile as exiles.

ATTACK ON PRESS: On April 3 troops and police completely wrecked the plants of six opposition newspapers and magazines. Staff members were jailed or exiled. Claudio Veliz, editor of the liberal **Ultima Hora**, said 23 newspaper workers were killed.

In a dispatch to London's **Reynold's News**, Veliz told how the Ibanez government then bungled and was forced to back down. The newspapers sued the government which insisted the raids had been carried out by thugs for whom the government was not responsible. But the Supreme Court appointed an honest lawyer to handle the government's case, 27-year-old Francisco Saavedra. He searched the police chief's home and found typewriters stolen from the newspaper plant, then ordered the arrest of eight policemen.

The newspapers' lawyers were then arrested as they left the courtroom. Veliz wrote: "The outcry was immediate and immense. Every political party in Chile protested." Even Ibanez's own Agrarian-Labor Party assailed him. Two ministers resigned. Ibanez reshuffled his cabinet, asked for an end to special powers granted him, denied he ever wanted to be a dictator.

The bus fare boost had already been canceled.

Still, there is no left-wing press in Chile. Carabineros patrol the streets. Ruinous inflation still starves most Chileans and Ibanez has come up with no answers, save a public reassurance that continued high U.S. investments show that somewhere there is confidence in his government.

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The Caribbean, as stormy as the rest of Latin America, will be covered in forthcoming issues of the GUARDIAN.

NEUBERGER'S MAIN TARGET IS CANCER

Congress asked for billion for medical research

Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE 85TH CONGRESS has been confronted with a demand for national action in the field of public health—a crash program of medical research calling for annual governmental expenditures running up to a billion dollars. This novelty in public policy comes from Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) with the backing of his colleague, Wayne Morse.

The prime target of Neuberger's war on disease is cancer, which every year attacks a fresh 500,000 Americans and carries away in death 250,000 more. As a start, Neuberger on May 2 offered an amendment to the appropriation bill for the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare increasing the appropriation for the future work of the Natl. Cancer Institute from $46,902,000 to $500,000,000, the increased amount "to remain available until expended." The amendment was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

A CARRIER'S WORTH: Neuberger says the voluntary private agencies are pitifully under-financed for necessary cancer research. "Cancer," he says, "is a threat which hangs over us all, from the bassinet to the tomb; yet we spend far less attempting to solve it than we do, for example, on the fittings for one aircraft carrier of the Forrestal class . . .

"What America needs today is a crash program of medical research. It should be a program proportionate to the $40 billion which we seem to be able to spend annually on weapons of war."

Neuberger quotes Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, recently retired as Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, to the effect that the Natl. Cancer Institute, if given reasonable notice in advance, could advantageously use a half billion to a billion dollars a year for research and study.

EVERY POSSIBLE LEAD: "You would be certain," Dr. Scheele explains, "that you could carry on your program from year to year without delay or interruption. Your top doctors and scientists would know their continued employment, at fair and adequate pay, was assured. They would not be tempted to break off their work to enter lucrative private practice.

"In addition, you could follow every possible lead or hope, no matter how remote or elusive it might seem. You would not have to budget so carefully and pursue only the most promising discoveries. In a war the military often overspends because it might be fatal to the country to underspend."

When Neuberger was campaigning for the Senate in 1954, he recalls, "few topics held audiences more attentive than my insistence that Federal expenditures for medical research generally—and in the field of cancer, in particular—should be increased many times."

Was it unanimous?

A BACARDI Cocktail must be made with Bacardi Rum.*

*Decision of the N.Y. State Supreme Court.

Ad in the N.Y. Times, 5/15

Hildy Ellis has her parents for keeps now

HILDY ELLIS, 6, kisses her foster father Melvin Ellis, while mother Frances looks on. This scene took place in Miami soon after Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida had refused to send the Ellises back to Massachusetts to face "kidnaping" charges for having taken Hildy to Florida. They left their home two years ago to prevent Hildy from being turned over to a Catholic home where her natural mother wanted to place her. The mother had given the child to the Ellises, who are Jewish, when she was 10 days old. The mother says she didn't know then that they were Jewish; the Ellises say she did. The case had raised widespread interest on both legal and religious grounds. In his decision Gov. Collins said: "The great and good God of all of us, regardless of faith, grants to every child to be born first the right to be wanted and second the right to be loved. Hildy's mother denied both of these rights to her . . . It was the Ellises in truth and in fact who have been the persons through whom God has assured to Hildy these first two rights as one of His children."

ON THE AMERICAN FORUM

Muste refuses to answer written quiz from Eastland

REV. A.J. MUSTE, moving spirit in the formation of the newly announced American Forum — For Socialist Education (GUARDIAN 5/20) has refused to answer a list of questions submitted to him by mail by Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, concerning the Forum and its participants.

Muste, a Presbyterian minister, Christian pacifist and veteran leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, wrote Eastland declining to answer the questions "on grounds of conscience and in line with my conception of duty as a citizen in a democratic society." If subpenaed, Muste wrote, "it would be impossible for me to do more than appear and state my reasons for declining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter of May 17, 1957. I can assure you that if this comes to pass, I shall not appeal to the Fifth Amendment. This is not meant, however, as a reflection on any individual who may have done so."

WHERE, WHEN AND WHO: Eastland's questions to Muste followed subpenas to five individuals, one of whom had no connection with the Forum at any stage. Of the five the only one to testify was Dr. Albert Blumber, awaiting sentence after conviction on a Smith Act "membership charge. Dr. Blumberg refused to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment.

From Muste, Eastland wanted to know whether Dr. Blumberg was a "moving factor" in the formation of the Forum, when and where all organizational meetings had been held and who attended, sources of funds "used by or available" to the Forum, when and by whom it was suggested to Muste, copies of memoranda, names of members of administrative and executive staffs, etc.

Muste's reply stated that the Forum was organized in "completely open and above-board fashion" for the purpose of discussion among "people who differ on many fundamental issues, not people who have agreed upon a basis for common action."

NOT THEIR BUSINESS: "I do not mean to imply," Muste added, "that if there had been talks relating to activities of a political nature, your committee or any such government agency would, in my opinion, have a right to conduct an inquisition into them . . ."

In conclusion Muste stated his difference with Eastland on racial discrimination and commented:

"I do not see how your attitude can be squared with democratic concepts or with the central teachings of the Christian faith. I also believe that because of its effect on millions of people in all parts of the world, your stand and activities relative to these matters constitute an immense threat to the security and good name of the United States and certainly give a major assist to Communist propaganda."

Herblock in Washington Post
"Do you think we should notice it?"

SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 14

Calif. Labor School in final meeting

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

IN EIGHT MINUTES of listless bidding last week a government auctioneer sold all the physical assets of the California Labor School for $530. But this does not yet finish the school.

On Friday, June 14, the final public affair, last of thousands conducted by the school during its 15 years of life, will take place at 8 p.m. at 150 Golden Gate Av. It will feature Allyn and Adele Rickett, authors of **Prisoners of Liberation.** They are now touring the country describing their experiences during seven years in new China. They went to Peking as Fulbright scholars, and were imprisoned by the Chinese on charges of espionage. On their return home they refused to repudiate the confessions they made to the Chinese.

Holland Roberts, director of the school, will describe the windup of the institution. Maurice E. Travis, formerly of the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, will be chairman.

PADLOCK ACTION: The school, victim of witch-hunting committees for 11 years, was declared to be communist-dominated by the Subversive Activities Control Board recently. Just as the school was announcing that it did not have sufficient funds to appeal the ruling to the courts the Bureau of Internal Revenue seized the premises and padlocked the doors. This was done ostensibly to satisfy a claim for approximately $10,000 in Federal taxes.

The claim arose out of a ruling by the Treasury Dept. which not only revoked the school's status as a non-profit tax exempt organization, but also demanded payment of back taxes for six years when it had been officially declared to be tax exempt. The school, according to Roberts, dutifully paid all taxes levied after the ruling, but did not pay all the back taxes. Negotiations for settlement of the case at one time reached written agreement, upon which the school paid out $1,200 to the government. Then, without giving any reason, the government revoked the agreement, Roberts said.

TO HEAR CONTEMPT SENTENCES

Green and Winston win Supreme Court reviews

SUPREME COURT decisions on May 27, included agreement to review three-year contempt sentences against Gil Green and Henry Winston, Communist leaders, for becoming fugitives in 1951 from five-year sentences under the Smith Act. The men have contended that the trial court exceeded its powers in imposing sentences of more than one year on the contempt charges. In two previous cases of political refugees from Smith Act sentences, those of Gus Hall and Robert Thompson, the Supreme Court had refused to review similar contempt sentences.

In another important decision the Court has agreed to review a $100,000 contempt fine levied against the NAACP by an Alabama state court. The NAACP had refused to produce the names of its members in a proceeding to put it out of business in Alabama for aiding the Montgomery bus protest and the efforts of Autherine Lucy to gain admission to the University of Alabama.

A CANADIAN VIEW

Gone but not forgotten

THE FEELINGS of most of the civilized world on the subject of Senator Joseph McCarthy were aptly expressed by the London News Chronicle: "America was the clean by his fall and is cleaner by his death." Unfortunately, the cleansing is far from complete; McCarthy is dead, but McCarthyism lingers on.

Evil growths of this kind are generally an outcome of troubled times. McCarthyism in the United States sprang from the mood of depression and alarm created by the advance of Soviet power in Europe and Asia in the late 1940s, coupled with the discovery that a few Communist sympathizers had managed to worm themselves into positions of influence and authority in the Government.

Various politicians found it pleasant and profitable to aggravate this mood by pretending to detect new plots, and by indiscriminate charges of communism against individuals and groups they disliked. The procedure was made easier by two legal loopholes: Congressmen and Senators are protected against libel suits by their legislative immunity, and Congressional committees, unlike ordinary courts, are under no obligation to permit their victims a chance to defend themselves.

Senator McCarthy was by no means the first at this game, but he was more successful than anyone else. In a few short months he rocketed from obscurity to become the most powerful and feared Senator in modern times.

In the end, of course, he overreached himself, and his fall was as sudden as his rise. Yet it needs to be remembered that the 1954 Senate resolution of censure, which, for all practical purposes, ended his career, was not directed at his abuse of authority or at his brutal and slanderous attacks on private individuals. He was censured because he attacked fellow Senators and, in effect, broke the rules of the club. Had he been more discreet in this respect, he might have continued at the head of the pack as long as he lived.

Because of this, his place has been filled without too much difficulty by men like Senators Jenner and Eastland and their counsel Mr. Morris. They do not have the publicity or perhaps the popular support which the old master enjoyed. Yet they follow his methods faithfully, they wield the same terrible power over the honor and reputation of their fellow-citizens; and they still operate without any effective control. Until the President and Congress can find the courage to curb his imitatars and successors, the ghost of Senator McCarthy will still be mighty in the land.

—Toronto **Globe and Mail**, 5/4

THE KOZMIN CASE

Court splits family going to U.S.S.R.

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES here seem to have gone into the business of breaking up families, with the cold war as a spur. Now the Kozmins join the Lozoyas as the second family to be torn apart in recent months. Circumstances are opposite, but the heartbreak is the same:

The Lozoyas wish to live in the U.S., but Rodolfo, a non-citizen, is not permitted to return from Mexico to his home of 30 years, his wife and seven children. George and Nabejda Kozmin, Soviet citizens, wish to leave the U.S. to return to the Soviet Union, but the court here is holding their three sons, born in Germany, and their baby-in-arms as wards of the court, and refuses to allow the children to leave with their father and mother.

The Kozmins have battled Family Court Judge John J. Clayton Jr. for over a year for the return of their children. When Judge Clayton announced his final decision—that the children would not be permitted to leave the country—George and Nabejda declared that they were leaving anyway. The Russian Embassy has promised to continue the court battle for the children.

PARENTS FREE TO GO: The U.S. government has accused certain foreign powers of holding U.S. citizens as hostages. It has not yet commented, however, on Judge Clayton's final statement:

"Mrs. Kozmin has said time and again that it was inconceivable for her to leave this country without her children. She has been instructed that she would have to bring the 9-month-old baby, Peter, to us. I doubt if she can do it. The child would be placed in St. Vincent's orphanage until put in a foster home. Of course, the parents may leave any time they wish."

The Kozmins came to the U.S. in 1950. George, a war prisoner of the Nazis, met his wife, then a slave laborer, in the Hitler concentration camp of Ravenswald. Three boys, Richard, now 10, George Jr., 8, and Paul, 7, were born in a German DP camp after the war ended. Hearing that the U.S. was a paradise on earth, the Kozmins came to the U.S. with the aid of a Baptist mission.

CHILDREN ARE TAKEN: But life here proved quite different. Handicapped by lack of English and ill health, the Kozmins suffered unemployment, poverty and the misery of Chicago's slums. Both were committed to the Chicago State Hospital as mental patients for reasons that are hard to verify. George Kozmin insists that it amounted to a political incarceration and was engineered by some of the Ukrainian DPs in a church which the Kozmins attended for a time. They left when they found themselves out of sympathy with the extreme anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders.

. . . and dream of the day when Daddy will come home

Having no idea of what moves the minds of lawmakers in our time, Darlene Diaz, curled up on a rug in her Boston home, doesn't know that it will be a dream without fulfillment—except by an Act of Congress. Her father, Mario Garcia Diaz, was deported to Cuba last August for failing to register as an alien. He jumped ship in 1948, in New York, married and raised a family—but the law, with traditional American humanity drained out of it, caught up with him.

On their commitment, the Family Court took custody of the children. The three older boys have now spent four years in orphanages and foster homes, out of contact with their parents. They were encouraged to forget Russian and to speak only English.

A year ago, in a desperate effort to break out of his misery and re-unite his family, George Kozmin contacted the Soviet Embassy and requested permission to return home. At this point, the cold war really exploded over the Kozmins. The Soviet government gave its consent. But, despite the fact that the three boys are incontestably Soviet citizens and the baby has claim to dual nationality, Judge Clayton refused to return the children and sat in lengthy judgment over their fate.

PATRIOTS MOVE IN: The public announcement that two Soviet DPs had found life in the U.S. wanting, and chose to return to their native country rallied super-patriots far and wide. The National Commander of the American Legion sent a high-powered delegation to urge the Kozmins to change their minds, offering a job and a place to live. The Veterans of Foreign Wars then moved in, with no better success. Next a Russian DP from Waukegan, Ill., who had struck it rich and claimed to be an old friend from the concentration camp, offered a job and a house. The Kozmins maintained that they had never laid eyes on him before, but the newspapers attributed this to alleged mental unbalance.

When bribes and inducements failed, Alvin E. Rose, city welfare commissioner, announced that they would be cut off relief, following their final hearing before Judge Clayton on May 15.

When the hearing opened, the Judge ruled that it would be a closed session, with the public barred, but not the press. Fedor Solomatin, chief of the consul division of the Soviet Embassy, pleaded in vain that "we will take all the responsibility for the Kozmin family here and when they arrive in the Soviet Union, if you release the children. Our government also guarantees them work, housing, free medical care, and education for the children."

MOCKING PRESS: Before the final hearing, Judge Clayton summed up the issue as being "whether parents have a right to take their children into a godless country." At the hearing he said: "We wish them to be rehabilitated here. This is not an international problem." A major reason for his decision is the contention that the children "do not want to leave this country." Presumably, this applies to the 9-month-old baby too. A fifth child is on the way.

The Chicago **Sun-Times** story on the hearing was typical of much of the press coverage. It said: "The Kozmins, speaking angry Russian, seemed upset by the judge's decision. In Greta Garbo fashion, Mrs. Kozmin cried, 'I want to go home'."

Stephen Love, eminent Chicago attorney who has been retained by the Russian Embassy in behalf of the Kozmins, declared: "I cannot see any reason for the judge's decision. The Communists will only use it as another example of the cold-heartedness of a capitalistic country that separates parents from their children."

Herblock in Washington Post

"Mr. Stassen will now explain our position."

Uncle's little helper

GOVERNOR Munoz Marin said that about the only difference between Puerto Rico and the states is that Puerto Rico has no vote in the U.S. Congress and does not pay taxes to the Federal government.

He said he hopes some day to change the tax situation.

Syracuse **Herald-American**, 5/19

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AFFECTED?

Girard College jimcrow rule forced to end

PHILADELPHIA'S exclusive Girard College—it has excluded all but "white male orphans" for 109 years— will hereafter admit non-white male orphans, too. This will affirm "the view of an enlightened society," said Philadelphia Mayor Richardson Dilworth, "that educational opportunities should be provided without discrimination by reason of race, creed or color."

French-born, Philadelphia merchant-philanthropist Stephen Girard stipulated in his will, probated in 1831, that $6,000,000 be used to establish an all-white school for boys and that the city of Philadelphia serve as trustee. But the U.S. Supreme Court ruled April 29 that the Board of City Trusts of Philadelphia, which runs the school, is a state agency and that its refusal to admit two applicants "because they were Negroes was discrimination by the state, forbidden by the 14th Amendment."

Surrounded by a massive stone wall, Girard College covers 42 acres in North Philadelphia's Negro community. Its present enrollment is 1,051, with a capacity for 1,700, according to the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/11). The **Afro** said many of the [six to 10-year-old boys] have incomes which take them out of the 'poor class' " and that, because of the school's "dwindling number of applicants in recent years, officials had conducted spirited campaigns among alumni to enroll students from other states."

The case in which the court acted began when William Ash Foust, 10, and Robert Felder, 9, tried to enter Girard College in Feb., 1954. The fathers of both are dead, so they are qualified unless they outgrow the age limitations before being processed. The Board rejected the application as contrary to Girard's will. Mrs. Guinivere Foust and Mrs. Bertha Felder engaged the nationally-known Negro lawyer, Philadelphia City Councilman Raymond Pace Alexander, to

petition Orphans Court. But the court ruled that the city had violated no law in excluding the Negro boys. The State Supreme Court last November affirmed that ruling. The case then went to the U.S. Supreme Court. Last week the Board asked the court to reconsider. Mayor Dilworth is a member of the Board and the only dissenter.

Jesse B. Manbeck, alumni representative of Girard College in Washington, protested, according to the Washington **Post** (5/20), that "politics" influenced the court's "edict that [Girard] cannot designate to what purpose he can use his own private funds." But Councilman Alexander said:

"I am opposed to having deadened hands regulate huge estates which affect people's civil rights. These deadened hands must be made to conform with the general welfare, progressiveness and changing attitudes."

Alabama Supt. of Education Meadows interpreted the Supreme Court action as a move toward eventual outlawing of jimcrow private as well as public schools. He warned that any further legislation aimed at abolishing public schools might "speed up instead of delay integration."

'THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH'

Backbone for the American Left

By Carl Marzani

(Co-director of the Liberty Book Club, former instructor of economics at New York University, holder of a degree in economics and philosophy from Oxford University)

LIKE GREAT POLITICAL LEADERS, great social books have a sense of historical fitness about them. Such is the new book, **The Political Economy of Growth,** by Prof. Paul A. Baran of Stanford University. In the opinion of this reviewer this book, just published, is already a Marxist classic.

There is a profound intellectual malaise on the Left today. For 10 years Marxist analysts, without sufficient facts, have predicted an American depression which has not taken place. War and fascism, freely predicted, did not materialize. At home, a facade of glittering prosperity; abroad, the Khrushchev report, the Polish and Hungarian crises, the mess in the Middle East—all have contributed to a general attitude of scepticism about Marxist analysis, a loss of confidence in socialist solutions and a pervasive apathy.

This book will stiffen wilted backbones. It reaffirms the validity of Marxist ideas for America today with such analytical finesse and flexibility that it will do much to restore in this country the prestige of Marxist methodology. Written with impeccable scholarship, it is proudly and clearly a Marxist book by a man firmly committed to socialism.

THE BASIC QUESTION: Without old cliches or quotations, this book treats critically the fundamental questions of today: the stability of American capitalism, the problems of the underdeveloped countries, and the problems of the socialist nations. It seems impossible, for example, to understand the Hungarian events without reference to Prof. Baran. Overall, no progressive can afford to be ignorant of the book's contents.

This is a book on economics, and it is tough going in spots. It would have been easier for the layman if Prof. Baran had been more didactic, more schematic. Actually his style is discursive, cultured and often witty. His digressions are numerous and rewarding. There is such a wealth of concise, significant and felicitously-phrased observations on the whole of society that, even if you skip the tough spots, you will find yourself both understanding and enjoying the book.

But this book warrants time, and application will be amply rewarding. For this purpose the reviewer offers the main channel of the argument for points of reference.

HISTORY OF CAPITALISM: Prof. Baran's basic tool is the concept of economic surplus, which he subdivides into three categories: actual, potential, planned. Actual economic surplus is the difference between what a society produces and what it consumes—what's left over for investment. Potential economic surplus is the surplus that could be achieved.

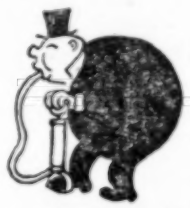
Planned economic surplus is what socialist countries do achieve.

Prof. Baran examines the whole of capitalist history. In the earlier days of competition, the market mechanism tended to force rapid development of productive resources. Those were the days when capitalism did indeed play a progressive role, as witness the industrial and scientific revolution. However, the development of monopoly and semi-monopoly (oligopoly) has now reached a stage where more and more they block the utilization of the actual economic surplus.

Prof. Baran says that in the large area of monopoly and oligopoly the rates of profit "are predominantly high and the mass of profit available for investment prodigiously large. *This tends to reduce the volume of aggregate investment* . . . since these firms find it unprofitable to plow the profits back into their own enterprises and increasingly difficult to invest them elsewhere in the economy." (P. 85, italics added.)

TOO MUCH CAPITAL: Capitalism is suffocating with too much capital! Prof. Baran proves that this is going on today just, as he points out, Marx foresaw over 100 years ago. Marx wrote, *"General overproduction* occurs not because there is relatively too *little* produced of the workers' or of the capitalists' consumption goods, but because there is too much produced of *both*—too much that *is not for consumption,* but too much to maintain *the right relation between consumption and accumulation; too much for accumulation."* (Italics in original.)

This analysis is basic to understanding capitalism, including the American economy in 1957. Marx says, and Prof. Baran reaffirms, on the basis of today's



events, that what disrupts capitalism is too much capital—that is, the system is unable to utilize its actual economic surplus even when that surplus is well below its potential.

How then are crises postponed? By squandering the economic surplus. Prof. Baran points to "the tragic dilemma continually confronting an advanced capitalist society. A *reduction* of the wasteful utilization of the economic surplus spells depression and unemployment." (P. 91, italics in the text.)

DEFENSE OF IRRATIONALITY: This insane picture of a wasteful, squandering system is actually being defended by leading economists today on the ground that America is so rich she can afford to be wasteful. Serious economists bolster this immoral, irrational position with all the trappings of logical arguments, just as apologists for slavery or feudalism used to do.

Yet, vast as it is, this irrational squandering is not enough, and the state has had to step in to keep the economy going. In pp. 101-120 Prof. Baran examines the various ways in which the government can utilize part of this huge economic surplus. The most important, of course, is armaments.

However, armaments are no long-run solution. The rate of increase of the surplus (due to productivity and population increase) outstrips any possible rate of armament increase, and there is a flexible but real limit to government expenditures. In a brilliant analysis (pp. 123-129) Prof. Baran shows that the problem is how to finance these expenditures. Deficit financing leads to inflation, and rapid inflation, by undermining credit, would speedily wreck the capitalist system. Taxation is technically feasible but politically impossible in the amounts necessary to soak up the economic surplus. Prof. Baran also shows irrefutably that the problem is cumulative. Government expenditures result not only in a greater volume of economic surplus, but in a greater *share* of surplus from the total output.

UNSTABLE AND RISKY: The problem, therefore, is constantly getting bigger and rapidly becoming insoluble except by war or depression, both of which destroy capital investments, inventories and manpower. But war is terribly risky for capitalism today.

Prof. Baran believes that the leadership of monopoly capital has developed caution and circumspection. What they like is neither war nor peace, but a continuation of the Cold War, itself an unstable and risky foreign policy.

The bulk of the arguments in this section is not new, but what is new is the contemporary reaffirmation of basic Marxist analysis by a scholar of the first rank.

A FALLACIOUS CONCEPT: In the next section, however, Prof. Baran breaks new ground with a display of analytical virtuosity. Trenchantly he shows up the most sophisticated and competent economists, notably Prof. Edward S. Mason, Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, for their class bias and his faulty analysis.

The heart of this section is the demonstration that capitalism today in underdeveloped countries *causes stagnation rather than progress.* The entire Point Four program (which is mainly imperialist window dressing) is fallacious in concept. It just won't work.

The reason is that capitalism grew in the industrial nations as a chain reaction where each new capitalist step reinforced and spread the capitalist mode of production, supplanting and surpassing feudal modes. For example, a harbor, or a road, in 18th century England was built because of the needs of many small capitalists and, in fulfilling those needs, the harbor construction stimulated many other needs and capitalists. The harbor was both a fulfillment and a stimulus. A harbor in Venezuela today is simply the terminus of a foreign oil company, with no relevance or stimulus to the economy of the country. Even its construction, based on foreign engineers and foreign equipment, has little effect on the industry of Venezuela.

SOCIALIST GROWTH: A backward country is a poor country. *Two thirds* of the world's population average only some *$50 a year* per capita. The figure for the U.S. is $1,800. Capitalist economists argue that this backwardness has three main causes: (1) shortages of capital; (2) lack of competent business men and (3) overpopulation. On pp. 226-237 Prof. Baran refutes these arguments. He show how, in these countries, agriculture is the main source of economic surplus and how this surplus is stolen or dissipated in the economy *outside* agriculture. Imperialism—with its local supporters—is the reason for backwardness. The only alternative that will work is socialism.

The final chapter, called "The Steep Ascent," is a most provocative analysis of growth in socialist countries. In it the entire problem of industrialization of backward agricultural countries is examined, with the conclusion that there is no way out but collectivization of the land *along with* the most rapid industrialization.

BEFORE AND AFTER: Before a revolution, landlords and usurers, backed by the force of police and armies, squeeze the peasants and accumulate an economic surplus while the peasant slowly starves. After a revolution, the peasant, now in possession of the land, eats much better and in fact eats away the previous economic surplus. There is no way of introducing capitalist methods on the land (fertilizers, tractors, etc.) both because the holdings are usually too small and there is little industry in the country. The only way out is to collectivize farms, thereby increasing productivity by applying modern techniques, thus creating both the economic surplus for the building of factories and releasing the manpower for the manning of the new factories. Industry in turn contributes more and more equipment to the collective farms as well as consumption goods: shoes, clothes, bicycles, radios, etc.

PAUL A. BARAN
An act of moral courage

In the transition period, with a backward peasant population, ignorant, superstitious, unable to foresee the future and fiercely attached to the small holding, it is inevitable that some force will be applied. Pp. 278-279 give a moving and intellectually powerful discussion of the problems of collectivization in the U.S.S.R.

THE WAY OUT: With the final chapter the discussion of backward countries culminates. There is no road for colonial countries but socialism. This is not opinion; this is cogent argument. India, Indonesia, Ghana, the newly liberated countries, seem to accept this fact and bear out his analysis, although in places like India it is in part lip service. But as Prof. Baran points out, the advanced capitalist countries need socialism no less and perhaps more than the backward countries—for we are beginning to rot. In a peroration of great sensitivity and humanity, he gives us an idea of the harmonious world economy under socialism, a "symphony of the future."

This reviewer believes the book will be historic. There are some areas of disagreement, as, for example, the concept of "people's imperialism": the extent to which the population of the U. S. is a participant in the imperialism of its ruling class. But in a book of this stature its great virtues far outweigh the smaller faults, if any.

A FINE EXAMPLE: This book is an act of great courage on the part of Prof. Baran—and not because he'll be attacked as a Marxist. As full professor at Stanford he can take care of that. But it was an act of moral courage to write such a book, alone in academic cloisters, when all around a Cold War America seemed to have gone insane. This work was in preparation over a long time, including the period of the Korean War, when less stout-hearted people threw in the sponge. Today, when so many people don't know what to do, Prof. Baran has given a magnificent example: DO WHAT YOU KNOW HOW TO DO—BUT DO IT. If you are a professor, profess; if you are a writer, write; a union man, unionize. And, in any case, agitate and teach.

This book is a weapon. It deserves study, and a group which studied it regularly would, after six months, know more about contemporary economies than most college economics majors.

Such study would refuel energies, reactivate zeal, renew the self-confidence of people on the Left. For in the broad sweep of historical development, the Marxist analysis has been proven significant, and its weaknesses in application are small compared to its enormous leverage for understanding, and *changing,* the world around us.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH by Paul A. Baran. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y. 308 pp. $5.

'Immunity' test

(Continued from Page 1)

longs to Congress or the Executive.

ULLMANN AND FITZGERALD: The law has been used twice by the Attorney General. The first time was in the case of William Ludwig Ullmann, one of the persons named by Bentley. After he lost his appeal to the Supreme Court, he answered all questions before a grand jury; no action has since been taken against him. Second target of the act was Edward J. Fitzgerald, another Bentley victim. He rejected the grant of immunity and persisted in invoking the Fifth Amendment. He was convicted of contempt of court and served 6 months.

The Immunity Act was adopted in the closing hours of the 83rd Congress during a wave of hysteria whipped up by the charge of "twenty years of treason" against the Democrats. It slipped through the Senate on July 9, 1954; the House adopted a different version on Aug. 4 of that year by a vote of 293 to 55 and the Senate gave its final approval four days later. President Eisenhower signed it into law.

TRESPASS ON RIGHTS: The **Wall St. Journal** commented at the time that the new law wouldn't make it any easier to catch subversives but that "it does make easier further and future assaults on the Bill of Rights which was designed to safeguard the individual from trespass by the government."

The constitutionality of the law was upheld reluctantly by the U. S. Court of Appeals in New York only because the Supreme Court in the last century had upheld a similar statute by a small majority; the Appellate Court held that only the Supreme Court could reverse its own doctrine. Chief Judge Charles E. Clark wrote:

"I concur but regretfully. For the steady and now precipitate erosion of the Fifth Amendment seems to me to have gone far beyond anything within the conception of those Justices of the Supreme Court who by the narrowest of margins first gave support to the trend in the Eighteen Nineties."

DOUGLAS' DISSENT: The Supreme Court announced its 7 to 2 decision on March 26, 1956. The dissenters were Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black. Douglas wrote:

"The critical point is that the Constitution places the right of silence beyond the reach of the government. The Fifth Amendment stands between the citizen and his government. . . . Any forfeiture of rights as a result of compelled testimony is at war with the Fifth Amenment.

"The guarantees against self-incrimination combined in the Fifth Amendment is not only a protection against conviction and prosecution but a safeguard of conscience and human dignity and freedom of expression as well. My view is that the framers [of the Constitution] put it beyond the power of Congress to compel anyone to confess his crimes."

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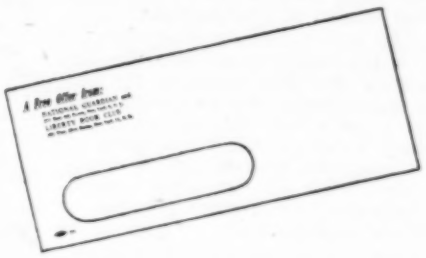

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Why Mollet fell

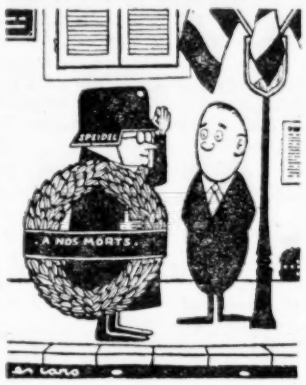
(Continued from Page 1)

of Algerian "pacification." ("Exceptional expenses" in North Africa run to 378 billion francs in the Treasury budget this year; the financial discussion revolved around 141 billion in new taxes.) The Right, in whose name this pacification was mainly attempted, refused to pay for it out of its own pocket.

In vain did Mollet, in his final speech, plead for right-wing support. He even was willing to postpone some vital, long-promised social measures. In vain did he play the anti-Communist tune—long the Prime Minister's favorite music. (He was silent when a CP deputy observed that the social measures already voted and on which the Socialist government prided itself, would not have passed without CP support.) The Right had made up its mind.

Sensing this, Mollet decided to close on a heroic note. He brandished his party's Membership Statutes and reminded his audience he was a Socialist himself. The tragic gesture was meant for the SP rank and file throughout the country. Inside the Assembly it provoked impatience on the Right, bitterness on the Left.

THE BALANCE SHEET: In fact, 16 months of Socialist government had weighted the balance sheet with more anti-socialist measures than a right-wing government could have contrived in the same time. In that balance-sheet were inscribed Algeria and Suez, and constantly dwindling civil liberties; atomic arms for the West German army, and Hitler General Speidel at Fontainebleau.



Liberation, Paris

"Which way to the Arch of Triumph?"

It also showed—most pressing at this time—a desperate financial situation. "If sufficiently energetic measures are not taken immediately, the aggravation of Treasury difficulties will endanger the monetary stability, while the draining of foreign currency reserves will stop imports and block the economy"—that's how Ramadier's own report to the House Finance Committee read.

The day the government fell was not one of the Chamber's great days. It was a day without passion, without oratory. It was a day of consternation and grave worries. The country's economic plight would remain even if the government went.

LOOK TO WASHINGTON: Application for an American loan was one remedy under consideration, though rumors came through that first Washington reactions were discouraging. How interdependent the country's major problems were was brought out by **Temoignage Chretien**, a progressive Catholic weekly, a few days before the crisis:

"Within 3 months," the paper said, "the government . . . will find itself in such a financial situation that it will have to decree a war economy—real gas rationing, import restrictions, new taxes—or else negotiate a new loan in Washington. It is safe to say that such a loan will be exchanged against political concessions regarding . . . above all American mediation in Algeria, in one form or another. This is what is in store for us: French influence, in the long run, will be replaced by American influence along the Mediterranean shores."

Beyond the economic issues appeared the country's two central problems: (1) Algeria — conditioning the nation's life today; (2) the European Market and Euratom treaties—threatening it tomorrow if the next government followed in its predecessor's footsteps.

A LOOK AHEAD: What sort of government would come out of the crisis? It seemed unlikely it could be anything else but a coalition "national union" Center—Right government. For reasons of parliamentary mathematics, it would have to govern with Socialist participation or, at least, support. For reasons of constitutional law, it would have to be solid enough to last till the fall or else bring about the dissolution of the Chamber this summer and new legislative elections—feared by some parties, desired by others. In any case, it would be to the right of the outgoing government.

For although the country had voted Left in January, 1956, the political pendulum would swing further to the Right before it was ready to swing back.

The CP, on the way out of its Hungarian isolation in strikes and other rank-and-file action throughout the country, was still isolated in the Chamber.

The SP—for the first time since the European Army debate in 1954—had seen a minority opposition group rise and consolidate itself, but that group was still a long way from carrying decisive weight.

MENDES-FRANCE: As for Mendés-France, the evening of the confidence ballot, he was defeated inside his own Radical Party when he came out for a negative, anti-government group vote. Abstention was finally adopted by the Mendésists as a compromise solution. Just before the ballot, a few dozen right-wing deputies in the House shouted: "Mendés! Mendes!", asking him to explain his vote. Mendés-France kept his seat and remained silent. On May 23 Mendes-France resigned as the leader of the Radical Party.

The same day, in the vein of supreme irony that has marked so much of France's post-war dilemma, it was reported that Paris was turning to West Germany for a loan to solve its financial crisis.

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New York

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NEW CHINA & THE UNITED STATES
Julian Schuman, author of Assignment China, will speak on New China.
Carl Marzani, author and lecturer, will speak on the Schuman-Powell case. Proceeds to the Powell-Schuman Defense Fund. Friday, June 7th, 8:30 p.m. The Clubhouse, 150 West 85th St. Sponsor: Citizens for Democratic Socialism.

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MEET YOUR PRESS and interview the editor of your paper. JAMES ARONSON, Guardian Editor, will be at the Lower East Side Guardian Forum Club, Wed., June 5, 8:30 p.m. sharp, at 573 Grand St., Apt. 2002 (nr. East River Drive). Suggested donation $1.

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Schuman and Marzani speak in N. Y. June 7

A FORUM on "New China and the United States" will be held on Fri. June, 7, 8:30 p.m., at The Clubhouse, 150 W. 85 St. Speakers include Julian Schuman, who will recount first-hand experiences of his eight years in China, and Carl Marzani, who will discuss the Powell-Schuman Case and its bearing on American-Chinese relations.

The meeting is sponsored by the Citizens for Democratic Socialism, Rm. 203, 121 W. 72 St., N. Y. 23. Proceeds from the meeting will go to the Powell-Schuman Defense Fund.

WRITERS AND ARTISTS SPEAK

Dialogue in U.S.S.R.

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE LONG INTERRUPTED DIALOGUE between Eastern and Western writers on the Hungarian tragedy has been resumed at last on a hopeful note. Sole but determined spokesman for the West was the French progressive writer Vercors, co-signer last fall of a protest letter from French to Soviet writers against Soviet intervention in Hungary.

Vercors went officially to Moscow this spring to open a show of reproductions of modern French painting. The main personal reason for his trip was to try to lift the maze of misgivings, misunderstanding and bitterness that had closed in on many after Hungary. He seems to have succeeded, after a number of candid discussions, especially in smaller meetings where complete liberty of exchange prevailed.

De Lach, Amsterdam
THE REALIST

One Soviet writer told Vercors: "You will see, there are among us as many differences of opinion as there are between writers in your country." To this, Vercors found one exception — the Soviet writers' unanimous agreement on the necessity of Soviet intervention in Hungary. He found it true, however, for the different view each took of the Hungarian tragedy.

"They should begin by recognizing their errors," said one Soviet writer of his Hungarian colleagues. Another: "I cherish their friendship; I hope they cherish mine." A third, unhappily: "How did we, how could we, come to such a pass?!"

ON ANTI-SEMITISM: Feeling ran deeper still, hurts were more profound, over Nikita Khrushchev's 20th Congress report. Vercors recalled to a few Soviet writers a conversation he had with some of them three years earlier on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. "Anti-Semitism is as unthinkable in our country as cannibalism," one of them had said then. "That was not true," one writer admitted. Another said painfully: "No, anti-Semitism was really unthinkable. And yet it existed."

The depth of that personal shock is expressed in some unpublished but widely-read poems. "We built on granite," says one of them, "but now the stone gives way, it crumbles beneath my feet. And yet, I shall continue to build, even on sand, savagely." Another poem reads: "The reptile whispered to me: To each his destiny. But when I see it crawling, I know that such a life is impossible."

SHEPILOV'S SPEECH: "Better tell your friends that we shall never break our solidarity with the government and the party," said one profoundly-affected writer. Another told Vercors: "Serving a good cause when one believes it irreproachable is no proof of courage; every one can do that. But it takes courage to continue serving that cause even when it has gotten sullied in the fight."

Vercors attended the Congress of Soviet Painters—the first since 1918—and found that Shepilov's speech there, which many in the West considered as a revival of rigid Zhdanovism, had been widely misunderstood outside the Soviet Union. Shepilov said: "All we ask of you is to remain true to realism and to the party. Outside of that, paint as you wish." To his audience the speech seemed a new chart to artistic freedom, a promise that, in the future, socialist realism would be flexible enough to cover good painting of every kind.

On the eve of the election of the 99 members of the Congress' governing board, one painter invited the members not to vote for any incumbent. Not one was re-elected. The old rigid rule had suffered a complete defeat.

LAUGHTER: The show of French moderns ranged from Corot to contemporary painters. It attracted such crowds that its stay was extended from two weeks to a month. Some painters came from as far as Kiev to see it. Braque, appearing as a classic after last year's first shock meeting with Picasso, was the show's great revelation.

Vercors found the young generation of painters anxious to understand and find their way, however difficult and painful a complete break with their own past must be to some of them. Among a group of students of a pedagogical institute, after an eager discussion of contemporary art and of abstract painting, one student asked: "And what does M. Vercors think of Soviet painting?" Before Vercors could answer, the entire class burst out laughing.

"I fear you will leave with empty hands," one Soviet writer told him on his arrival in Moscow. "I hope you will not leave with an empty heart."

Vercors found, on his departure, that not even his hands had remained empty.

Anne Bauer

Guardian editor speaks at East Side forum

JAMES ARONSON, GUARDIAN Editor, will speak and be interviewed at a "Meet Your Press" meeting of the Lower East Side Guardian Club, Wednesday, June 5, 8:30 p.m. sharp, at 573 Grand St., Apt. 2002. (Near East River Drive.) Suggested donation is $1.

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- eat within several hours of bedtime;
- drink before going to bed;
- sleep on the left side, it constricts your heart;
- sleep in tight night clothes;
- sleep with another person in the bed.

Of course this was all set forth before the post-Stalin reappraisals and may to some smack overmuch of the Cult of the Individual. So, if you want to sneak in a little Nightus Capus once in a while, be our guest.

Otherwise all we have to add is, if you're exhausted from the sleep-preparation rituals and need a pick-me-up, pop a Guardian Vitamin capsule of the proper vintage in your mouth. While you're in the footbath might be a good time.

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the SPECTATOR

The black list

Langston Hughes, one of America's great Negro writers, spoke earlier this month at the National Assembly of the Authors League of America. The text of the Hughes talk appears below.

BRUCE CATON spoke of the writer's chance to be heard. My chance to be heard as a Negro writer is not so great as your chance. I once approached the Play Service of the Dramatists Guild as to the handling of some of my plays. No, was the answer, they would not know where to place plays about Negro life. I once sent one of my best known short stories, before it came out in book form, to one of our oldest and most famous American magazines. The story was about racial violence in the South. It came back to me with a very brief little note saying the editor did not believe his readers wished to read about such things. Another story of mine, which did not concern race problems at all, came back to me from one of our best-known editors of anthologies of fiction with a letter praising the story but saying that he, the editor, could not tell if the characters were white or colored. Would I make them definitely Negro? Just a plain story about human beings from me was not up his alley, it seems. So before the word **man** I simply inserted black, and before the girl's name, the words **brownskin**—and the story was accepted. Only a mild form of racial bias. But now let us come to something more serious.

Censorship, the black list: Negro writers, just by being black, have been on the blacklist all our lives. Do you know that there are libraries in our country that will not stock a book by a Negro writer, not even as a gift? There are towns where Negro newspapers and magazines cannot be sold—except surreptitiously. There are American magazines that have **never** published anything by or about Negroes. There are film studios that have never hired a Negro writer. Censorship for us begins at the color line.

AS TO THE TANGENTIAL WAYS in which many white writers may make a living: I've already mentioned Hollywood. Not once in a blue moon does Hollywood send for a Negro writer, no matter how famous he may be . . . when you go into your publishers' offices, how many colored editors, readers, or even secretaries do you see? In the book review pages of our Sunday supplements and our magazines, how often do you see a Negro reviewer's name? And if you do, 99 times out of 100 the Negro reviewer will be given a book by another Negro to review—seldom if ever, "The Sea Around Us" or "Auntie Mame"—and yet a reviewer of the calibre of Arna Bontemps or Anne Petry or J. Saunders Redding could review anybody's books, white or colored, interestingly. Take lecturing: There are thousands and thousands of women's clubs and other organizations booking lectures that have never had, and will not have, a Negro speaker—though he has written a best seller.

We have in America today about a dozen top-flight, frequently published, and really good Negro writers. Do you not think it strange that of that dozen, at least half of them live abroad, far away from their people, their problems, and the sources of their material: Richard Wright—"Native Son" in Paris; Chester Himes—"The Primitives" in Paris; James Baldwin—"Giovanni's Room" in Paris; William Denby—"Beetle Creek" in Rome; Ralph Ellison—"Invisible Man" in Rome; Frank Yerby—of the dozen best sellers—South France; Willard Motley—"Knock On Any Door"—Mexico.

Why? WHY? Because the stones thrown at Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama are thrown at them, too. Because the shadow of Montgomery and the bombs under Rev. King's house shadow them and shatter them, too. Because the body of little Emmett Till drowned in a Mississippi river and no one brought to justice, haunts them, too. Because the jimcrow schools from New York to New Orleans Jim Crow them, too. One of the writers I've mentioned when last I saw him before he went abroad, said to me, "I don't want my children to grow up in the shadow of Jim Crow."

AND SO LET US END with children. And let us end with poetry—since somehow the planned poetry panel, of which I was to have been a part, did not materialize. So, therefore, there has been no poetry in our National Assembly. Forgive me, then, if I read a poem. It's about a child—a little colored child. I imagine her as being maybe six or seven years old. She grew up in the Deep South where our color lines are still legal. Then her family moved to a Northern or Western industrial city—one of those continual migrations of Negroes looking for a better town. There in this Northern city—maybe a place like Newark, N. J., or Omaha, Neb., or Oakland, Calif., the little girl goes one day to a carnival, and she sees the merry-go-round going around, and she wants to ride. But being a little colored girl, and remembering the South, she doesn't know if she can ride or not. And if she can ride, where? So this is what she says:

Where is the Jim Crow section
On this merry-go-round,
Mister, cause I want to ride?
Down South where I come from
White and colored
Can't sit side by side.
Down South on the train
There's a Jim Crow car,
On the bus we're put in the back
—But there ain't no back
To a merry-go-round!
Where's the horse
For a kid that's black?

—Langston Hughes